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Kols have neither mud walls nor wooden doors. When they leave the house, a bit of thorny brush is put in front of the doorway. This will keep out dogs and also any dangerous spirit which may be seeking admission. 342

When the building of a house is completed, there is usually a dedicatory ceremony consisting of installing and worshipping the household god or goddess or both, and a small niche in a corner or in the side wall is reserved for this purpose. The place is marked with *sendur* and the *hom* sacrifice is made. An offering of a chicken or young goat may also be made at the village shrine. A *tulasi* plant should also be planted somewhere in the courtyard. 342 776 778

DAILY LIFE. The daily life of the village and forest Kol centres mainly about the problem of daily bread. Before daybreak the women are up and are the first to be seen about the village. They sweep the house, the veranda and the courtyard; fetch water from a nearby stream, well or tank and grind the wheat for the morning meal. The *sound of the grindstone* is one of the earliest to be heard in a Kol village. The men are also up early, but do not have much to do in the way of household duties unless it is to chop a bit of wood. They wash their faces and rinse out their mouths with water which the women have brought, and, if they have bullocks, these are fed and got ready for the work in the fields; or if this is not to be done, they sit around in the sun in the courtyard and wait for some hot tea, or more probably for rice and *chapati* remaining from the meal of the night before. During the season when the work is heavy, they are in the field not long after the day has dawned, and the village is inhabited only by the women, children and older men. The bullocks for ploughing are driven before them; some of the older boys may assist in this, and the men carry the iron-pointed wooden plough. If some of the men-folk have no work in the fields, they may go into the forest for wood and grass; or, if there is plenty of food in the house and there is no pressing need for money, they sit around in groups and smoke cheap country cigarettes (*biris*) and gossip. 512 [252] [515] [264] [492] [407] [276, 52]

In the meantime the women are preparing the morning meal. It is not usual for men and women to eat together. The women and children usually eat about the same time, though when the boys get in their teens, they like to eat with the men. During the middle of the morning, after the meal is nearly ready the women go for their daily bath to a nearby stream or tank. Women bathe every day throughout the year. The men bathe daily in the hot weather, but not so frequently in winter. The women do not remove their clothes when they bathe, though men usually remove all but a loincloth. The women [264] [515]

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512 stand in the stream up to their hips with their *saris* still draped around
515 them, and if there is a possibility of men in the vicinity, also cover their heads. Water is poured over them or they may immerse themselves. Ordinarily no soap is used, in fact the use of soap is not common to village people, though it is not unknown. After the bath the women come to the shore and by first draping a fresh *sari* about them slip off the wet one without exposing themselves. They do not dry themselves with any towel, though the hair may be rubbed dry with some
512 cloth. Oil is sometimes applied to the body. They next wash the
[296] *sari* they have removed, which is done by beating it with a stick on a flat stone. After being wrung out it is taken home to be hung up somewhere about the house to dry and be ready for use the next day. The *sari* put on at the time of the morning bath is constantly worn until the next bath. The bather may now take a bit to eat, or occasionally she may have her morning meal, though it is more usual
[264] for her to wait until the men have been fed or she takes what is left. The husband usually returns from work about mid-day and gets his meal; but if the work is heavy and he must be there, she will take it out to the fields to him, where he will eat it and, after a short rest,
[784] resume his work. If the work is pressing, she may remain to assist
[241] him, though she should never touch the plough. She may reap, weed, and thresh, and she carries home the rice and wheat which has been threshed. During the hotter months field work begins before daylight, and the men are back by ten o'clock. In the threshing season the work continues steadily throughout the day, for that is the time when the hot winds are active and the chaff is easily separated.
[515] The men may bathe on their way back at noon, or in the evening before
[264] their evening meal. If they return from the fields at dusk, the evening meal is usually not taken till after eight o'clock. Unless there is some
[513] social event such as preparations for a wedding or a tribal feast, or, perhaps a religious ceremony, the Kols are asleep by about nine at
[527] night. On religious and social occasions, however, the whole night may be spent in singing, watching the women dance and chatting. The social events occur usually in the slack season and work is not interfered with; but under industrial conditions there is a limit to night operations, and the singing is usually over by midnight.

[857] The children have their tasks too. The boys, as soon as they are old enough, herd cattle and goats in the forest, gather sticks, leaves and roots, and run errands for their mothers. The girls assist their mothers in the home, gather cow-dung for use as fuel and as plaster for the walls and floor.

The main variations of this routine are occasioned by social

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USE OF FIRE. Matches are fast finding their way into the villages of India and as a result primitive ways of making fire are disappearing. Enquiries among Kols in sections where matches are not generally in use showed that they have two primitive methods of making fire. Even here it is not often necessary to prepare fire afresh, as it is usually

Fig. 10

kept in ignited lumps of cow-dung, which burn slowly and are not easily extinguished. It is not infrequent to see, in such villages, a woman going from one house to another taking with her a smoking piece of cow-dung to start her own fire.

The most usual method is to strike a stone against iron. The spark is directed into a bit of cotton from the *semal* tree (*Bombax malabaricum*) which is very easily ignited. Kols collect and preserve the cotton for this purpose. The second method often practised is that of rubbing together two well-dried sticks of the *pipal* tree (*Ficus religiosa*). One stick is notched. A sawing method is used, and a bit of *semal* cotton dropped into and around the notch, where the heat generated by friction ignites it. This is carefully nursed and transferred to dry leaves and grass.

FOODS AND THEIR PREPARATION. Like most village and common folk in India the Kols have two meals a day: one about noon and the other late at night. Early in the morning something is usually taken before going out to work. This may consist of a *chapati* or a bit of rice left over from the night before. The two main meals are almost similar and there is usually no variation in the menu. In the season when rice is cheapest, it will form the main part of the meal; or when wheat is the cheaper, this is eaten in the form of *chapatis*. In Rewa millet is frequently used. Along with these main articles a little vegetable curry and some pulse is usually eaten. Meats are not taken regularly as they are too expensive, but Kols eat most meats except beef. These

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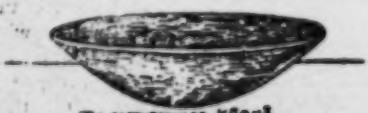
564 sub-groups are recognised within the Rautiya *kurhi*. These are often listed as entirely separate from Rautiyas, but when those conversant with such matters were pressed, it was found that these are really sub-groups of the Rautiya. The sub-groups are :

1a. *Rautel*. This group appears in eleven of the twenty-one lists as a genuine Kol *kurhi*. Further study has revealed that this name is used rather loosely and that there is really very little difference between the Rautels and the Rautiyas. In Maihar State groups calling themselves Rautel claimed that they practise hypergamy with Rautiyas and Thakuriyas; but this occurs only if suitable Rautel girls are not available for marriage. The groups in Maihar State claimed that they are the highest class of Kols, as a Brahmin priest always officiates in their wedding ceremonies, while the Rautiyas do not always observe this essential. It came out in the same discussions that Rautels eat off an earthen dish known as the *kurha*, and that they are thus probably identical with the sub-group of Rautiyas known as Kurhas. A Kathautiya Kol later confirmed this interpretation. This same informant said that his group used to practise hypergamy with Kurhas, but that now there are no restrictions, and in most places either can take or give their girls in marriage without hindrance. This opinion, however, was found to be inconsistent with enquiries in other centres.

[264 415] [114]

1b. *Kurha*. The Kurha is definitely a Rautiya of a particular kind, and might be considered a "totemistic sept". This group is expected to do all its eating off black earthenware vessels known as *kurhas*. These are not made by Kols themselves, but are bought from members of the potter caste, the Kumhars. The following stories were noted in regard to their origin.

[614]



The earthenware KŌṛaī
This is the dish from which the Rāṇās drank out.

Fig. 17

[415 264]

564 713 Once upon a time there were two brothers who were orphaned of their father and brought up by their mother. After a time the old mother died and the two sons were forced to go out into the world and earn their own living. Following quite a long period of separation they happened to meet, and each enquired after the work and welfare of the other. The younger related how he was working for a certain master and how this master had fed him from a *kurha* made by a Kumhar. Then after becoming independent of his master he told how he had continued to use that type of dish. The elder brother was much annoyed at this and told his younger brother that they could no longer associate nor eat together because of this practice.

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This led to a separation between the brothers and they formed two divisions of the same family. The elder brother was the head of the family of Rautiya Kols and the younger of the Kurha Kols.

Another story relates that there were once five brothers of the same *kurhi*. Due to lack of food they were forced to separate: one went to the Binj mountains and founded the Binj *kurhi*; another went to a Thakuriya house, found shelter there, and from him are descended the Thakuriya Kols; another who took refuge with the Kumhars, the potters, was the ancestor of the Kurha sept. It is not unlikely that these stories contain the truth that this *kurhi* may have arisen from some marriage with Kumhars or perhaps miscegenation with them, or it may have reference to some occupational adventure on the part of some Kols.

Apparently the use of an earthen vessel by one sub-group does not prevent marriage within the whole group, nor does it limit it to that group, for marriages are possible between them and the Kathautiya Rautiyas who use wooden vessels from which to eat. There is the restriction, though, that Kurhas and Kathautiyas should not eat together unless they are related by marriage, and when this is the case they may compromise by the use of the ordinary brass plate. In a certain centre we were told that the only "pure Rautiyas" were those who used the *kurha* and that there were also definite marriage restrictions between them and the users of the wooden bowl. This, if ever true, is disappearing.

1c. *Kathautiya.* Evidence goes to show that this *kurhi* is also a sub-group of the Rautiyas and differs from the Kurhas in that its members eat from a wooden bowl, called *kathauta* or *kathota*. The women folk, and occasionally the men, wear bits of wood in the lobes of their ears. During childhood the hole in the lobe is enlarged by the insertion of fibres from weeds, and from time to time a new bit is inserted in the attempt to enlarge the hole. We did not find that the Kathautiya Kols were consistent in the use of the wooden dish. At Sihora they told us that while they were Kathautiyas they had nevertheless given up the use of the *kathauta* and had adopted the ordinary brass plate. In other centres, notably one near Katni, they still use the bowl and cling to the custom tenaciously. As far as possible, they declared, all food should be prepared in wooden vessels, and it is expected that they should eat their food from such vessels. They do not manufacture their own *kathautas*, nor is any particular kind of wood used, but the dishes are made by Hindu carpenters from such wood as is available. At the time of death or eclipse of sun or moon the Kurha Kols must throw out all their earthenware dishes; the

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171 614 in the case of the Hill Kharias the clan organization is based on totemistic principles, there is still no exogamy connected with it.[1] Roy remarks about another section of the Hill Kharias: "There is strong evidence to indicate that this section of the tribe has probably lost its clan organization as they have lost their aboriginal language, unless it may be that they never evolved any such organization."[2] Other Kharias, notably the Hill Kharias of Singhbhum and Manbhum districts have recorded of them that "the division into exogamous clans is recognized for the purpose of marriage."[3]

An examination of the clan organization of the Mundas, which might quite readily be worked out from existing materials, would be an interesting study. From our study of the Kols of Central India it is clear that they, like some of the Munda tribes noted above, have at the present day no totemistic clan organization as the basis of their social organization; exogamy is practically unknown, marriage being regulated within the group and even sub-groups on the basis of genealogical relationships. Fifty years ago Crooke wrote of the Kols of the Southern United Provinces that they have "shed off the elaborate system of totemistic septs which are found among the Mundas of Bengal."[4] On being asked questions dealing with a totem or an emblem of a clan the Kols said that they have clans which they term [564] *gots*. Asked further how these differed from *kurhis* the answer given was that *gots* and *kurhis* are essentially the same. They said that on a tribal basis exogamy is unknown amongst them, and that marriage is always among the same *gots* or *kurhis*. There seems therefore to be no difference at the present time in marriage regulations between members of septs within the clan.

614 564 Some of the Kol *kurhis* which have no totems or clan emblems may be called *gots* in the same sense as are the three *kurhis*: Kurhas, Kathautiyas and Kathariyas, which apparently have as clan emblems the earthen vessel, the wooden bowl and the mattress, respectively.[5] No rites are observed in connection with these totems, either for their multiplication or for their preservation. As far as could be ascertained there are now no taboos in connection with them. In the [784 264 415] cases of those who strictly use one or the other of these dishes the taking of food in the wrong kind of dish is taboo, that is, the Kurha should eat off earthen vessels; yet there are Kurhas who do not observe

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 122, 124, 128 *etc.*
2 *Ibid.*, p. 122.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 128.
4 Crooke, W., *Tribes and Castes of the Northwest Provinces and Oudh*, Vol. III, Art. Kol.
5 See pages 36, 37, 44.

h:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

this in a strict way, and when certain situations arise they may eat from a brass dish without offence. The same applies in the case of the Kathautiyas.

Russell and Hiralal[1] are supposed to have found traces of totemism among the Kols, but as previously noted it is clear that they have made a mistake in the case of the Kathariyas. They list certain "totemistic septs" in Mandla. They note that the Bargaiyan sept is really named after the village of Bargaon, that the sept connects its name with the *bar* or banyan tree (*Ficus indica*) and is said to revere it. This tree, however, is generally revered by Kols. Some of the sept's uses and taboos of the tree are mentioned in their article. The second sept, the Kathautia has the explanation that we have given, except it is reported that the sept reveres the tiger and keeps Bagheshwar Deo,[2] the tiger god, on a little platform on the veranda. We found no trace of this among the Kathautiyas interviewed. The third is the Kathariya sept, of which we have already spoken and where we believe the authors have gone astray. Fourthly, "The name of the Mudia or Mudrundia sept is said to mean shaven head, but they apparently revere the white *kumhra* or gourd, perhaps because it has some relation to the shaven head. They give the white gourd to a woman on the third day after she has borne a child, and her family do not eat this vegetable for three years."[3] Fifthly, the Kumraya sept is said to revere the brown *kumhra*. Again, the Bhuwar sept is named after *bhu* or *bhumi* and its members must never sleep on cots, always on the ground. We found no trace of this belief. "Other septs are Nathunia, a nose ring; Karpatia, a kind of grass; and Binjhwar, from a tribe of that name."[4] Russell and Hiralal do not state whether there are exogamic tendencies in connection with these septs or not. Totemism however, is a very complex phenomenon and differs widely even among the Mundas. There is apparently no single criterion: "Exogamy may or may not be coupled with the other features, totemistic taboos may be dissociated from a totemistic name for the group practising them; descent from the totem may or may not be postulated; and so forth."[5] Lowie goes on to discuss Goldenweiser's and Fraser's theories of totemism and finds them inadequate to explain the totemistic phenomena. "Only confusion can result from envisaging what is disparate under a single head."[6] The

1 Russell and Hiralal, *Op. Cit.*, Vol, III, p. 510, 511.
2 See index : Tiger.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 510.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 511.
5 Lowie, R. H., *Primitive Society*, p. 140.
6 *Ibid.*, p. 145.

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parations are then made for the bridegroom to eat *lahahaur*, the food prepared especially for the occasion. This may be of several types. It is sometimes said to consist of rice, pulse, *puris* and *bara*; and again of milk, rice and sugar. This is brought by a female member of the family, the *sarhaj* (bride's brother's wife) being preferred. Before the boy is asked to eat the *lahahaur* two women dressed in dancing garments make their appearance; they sing and dance and are accompanied by some men with their drums. This party advances towards the *janmasa* singing songs which contain many questionable allusions and are considered as *gali* (abuse). They carry the emptied *kalsa* with the lighted lamp still on top of it, and place it before the boy who is asked to go around it seven times and sit down. When he has done this the *sarhaj* tries to make him eat the *lahahaur*; she brings it up to his mouth five times in her right hand and after smelling it as many times he refuses to eat. She is paid four annas for this by the boy's father. There is more singing and the giving of *gali* by both sides. Finally the *sarhaj* brings a *lota* of water and washes the feet of the members of the boy's party and at the same time openly counts them so that they may know how many will need food. Much of this food has already been cooked but it is not served till midnight or later. In the meantime, during the meal, and even for the rest of the night, there are songs and the *dadra* dance.

About eleven o'clock the next morning the members of the bridegroom's party take their morning meal at the bride's house, but the groom stays by himself in the *janmasa* where his food is brought to him. When the others arrive their feet are washed as before and each member is given a *lota* of water so that he may wash his hands. The male members of the two parties always eat together first and the meal is usually served on leaf-plates, or, if they are available, brass ones. The men then go for a chat and rest and sometime later the women take their food. At no time do the men and women eat together.

(*b*) *Sadi*. The Actual Ceremony. The evening of the second day sees the performance of the marriage proper, the *sadi*. The premises of the girl's house are again plastered and all made clean and ready. The Brahmin priest who wrote the *lagan* is expected to arrive after nightfall. If the family should decide to dispense with his services the part of the priest may be taken by the *phupha* (father's sister's husband). The priest first marks out a square, called the *chauk*, on the plastered portion of the courtyard not far from the wedding booth, using whole wheat flour to mark the lines. A *kalsa* is then placed at its centre into which will be thrown the gifts for the

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4. In some things the men take the leading part, but the women assist in certain occupations, such as: 462

Grazing cattle.
Purchasing supplies in the bazaar.
Watching crops by day.
Cutting wood for the house.
Construction of houses.
Milking of cows and goats.

5. There are some things that are absolutely tabqo to the women such as:

Ploughing.
Getting up on a roof.

6. There is one thing that a man should never do: wash the clothes of a woman. [296]

7. There are a number of things neither a man nor a woman does, some of them have been listed and others have not. These tasks are the particular work of certain castes and occupational groups, and Kols leave such work to them. [564]

Among Kols working in industrial centres the wife and husband often work side by side at the same task, such as digging stone, carrying baskets of stone for the lime kiln, and the like.

GUESTS AND HOSPITALITY. On account of the smallness of Kol houses it is not possible for Kols to do much in the way of entertaining. Nevertheless hospitality is extended as far as is possible under the circumstances. A visiting relative is given a place within the family. On his arrival, he is met by the men of the house and greeted. The salutation takes the form of an embrace. The two put the arms around each other and touch first the left shoulder to the left shoulder, then the right to right. The next thing is to touch each others' knees, first the left, then the right, both hands generally being used. The final part is the grasping of the right hand.[1] Provision is made for the relative so that he or she may sleep comfortably during the night. This often entails hardship on the members of the family particularly if the house is crowded. A relative takes food with the other members of the family: men sitting with men and women with women. If the visitor should be a friend but not a relative, it is usual for him to be given a place to sleep, but he does not take his food with the family. He is expected to cook his own food, although the materials for the same are supplied free to him by the family with whom he is stopping. 574 602 [576] [264] [252]

1 See plate XII.

li Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

768 765 [302] by a Kol. Often all male members of the family are shaved in this manner. Nothing is done to the female mourners to correspond with this. Unkempt hair and dirty clothes are the signs of their mourning.

765 MOURNING FOR THE DEAD (*Daswi*). This may also be considered as the period of uncleanness, although many Kols do not recognize it as such. The number of days that the dead should be mourned, and certain taboos observed, varies according to sex and age. For a man or for a married youth the period is ten days, hence "*daswi*";—for a woman or a married maiden nine days; for a child it varies according to age: five days, three days, or, if it is a very small child there is no period of mourning at all. All over the area the customs are uniform [184] in the cases of men and women, but for children there seems to be a considerable variation of custom.

765 262 During the period of mourning certain foods are taboo and certain kinds of cooking vessels must not be used in the preparation of food. Only simple food should be eaten: nothing should therefore be cooked in *ghi* or oils. No salt or flesh of any kind should be taken. The cooking vessels which are taboo are those in which rich foods are prepared and cooked in oils and *ghi*, such as a frying pan. This rules out the cooking of *puris*. The food during that period must always be [264] eaten at home, and on no account should one accept food cooked in another's house or by someone who is not a member of the family, even if it is cooked in his own house. Violators of these regulations [623] are dealt with by the *panch*. One should also stay pretty close to home, and should not freely enter others' houses, especially at the time they are eating.

765 775 FEEDING THE DEAD. The Kols have a custom of feeding the dead which they generally call *dona*, or *dauna rakhna*. The dead should be fed twice daily during the period of mourning if one can afford it, and if not, once in the evening. This is discontinued after the funeral feast. The chief mourner is generally expected to prepare this food, or it may be prepared along with the ordinary household food. Such food is placed on a *dona*, leaf-plate, and is taken out from the house to a distance of from thirty to forty yards, in the direction of the graveyard. This is placed in the crotch of a tree or it may be set down on the ground. Other things may also be placed there, things the

Fig. 23

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776 is the bridegroom deity. The general view is well summed up by Crooke:

> Strange, abnormal features of the scenery often become objects of veneration. In Mirzapur District there is a rock in the form of a hideous, grinning skull, with enormous teeth, known as Dantandeo, 'the demon with the teeth'. ....The same feeling is illustrated by the cult of Dulhadeo, 'the bridegroom deity', which is widely spread from the Central Provinces up to the hills which rise above the valley of the Ganges. He is one of the deified spirits of men suddenly slain before their desires were accomplished, and like others of his kind he should have become a Bhut or malignant spirit. But he is now generally regarded as a friendly household godling. Stone pillars and rocks are often associated with his tragic fate.....[1]

A Kol at Barela insisted that Dulha *deo* was the supreme deity, but generally speaking he is regarded by the Kols as a beneficent household god. He usually dwells within the house and a piece of [778] stone placed in a notch in the wall and daubed with *sendur* indicates his presence. He is offered sacrifices at set seasons, but before each meal a little food should be put aside for him. If he is neglected and gets angry he may cause harm to the family. If he is to be venerated outside the house, a little mound of earth about eight inches high may be raised close to the wall of the house not far from the doorway. This is simply whitewashed and called Dulha *deo*.

776 Offerings made to him are much like those given to other deities.
782 It is often said that he should never be offered a chicken. He prefers either a kid or suckling pig. His favourite time of worship is in the [805] Hindu month of *Kunwar*, (September-October). This is the time his
787 spirit possesses people and speaks through them.

In Rewa, Kols say that after the marriage festivities the families [264] concerned must not eat without first making an offering to Dulha *deo*.
585 The main offering should be a male pig, which is offered to him, then cooked before the shrine and eaten sacramentally. The bones and pieces that are left are buried in a hole in the floor of the house, for if they should be thrown out or exposed trouble would result.

Gwalbansa baba. This deity is another household god of the same type as Dulha *deo*. He is said to be the master of the house and is always worshipped within the dwelling. He is particularly propitiated at *Jawara* time when an animal offering, preferably a goat or pig, is sacrificed inside the house. The blood is sprinkled about the [264] niche in the wall down near the floor which had been freshly plastered. Nothing whatsoever of the slain animal should be allowed to go out-

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 100, 101.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca.1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

side the house. The entrails and anything left over after the meal, such as bones, hair, skin and the like are thrown into a hole especially prepared for them. This hole is dug in the earthen floor not far from the place where Gwalbansa *baba* dwells. A bit of ashes may first be placed in the hole, then the leftovers, and on top a good layer of ashes; then the hole closed up again with earth and the spot plastered. Fevers and heart diseases are said to be the result if any part of the offering is carelessly exposed.

Hardaul baba is commonly worshipped by the Kols in connection with cholera. He is then offered a red chicken and cocoanuts. Crooke has noted the origin of this deity who is really a modern one.

> In Upper India the chief cholera godling is Hardaul, Hardiya, or Hardiha Lala, the second son of Bir Singh, Raja of Orchha in Central India, who in 1602 at the instigation of Salim, afterwards the Emperor Jahangir, slew the accomplished Abu-l-fazl, the historiographer of the reign of Akbar. Jhajhar Singh, the elder brother of Hardaul, suspecting that he was engaged in ar intrigue with his wife, compelled her to poison him at a feast. His horses and dogs died with him, and, like the hero, became dangerous ghosts. When his body was cremated, a pole was set up to mark the place, and when his sister came to mourn him and flung her arms about the post, it split in pieces as a proof that he recognized her. His ghost continued to wander until he was deified and worshipped.[1]

Khetrapal, "field guardian," called Bhumiya sometimes, is another agricultural deity. He guards the fields and, during the growing season, an earthen pot is whitewashed, some black daubs are put upon it and it is placed upside down on the top of a pole in the field.

Mahabir. "The Great Hero." This is the name by which the Kols speak of Hanuman, "he with the great jaws"—the monkey god. *Langur* apes (*Semnopithecus entellus*), are very common through many parts of the Central Provinces and are highly respected and protected.

One group of Kols asserted that Mahabir is the greatest of the deities and that the sun is his shelter. Mahabir's favourite colour is red, and it is not uncommon over village India to see the figure of the monkey god smeared with *sendur*. Kols say that he likes red and that it not only increases his beauty, but also his wrath against the evils affecting human kind. When his wrath is thus aroused, he seeks to remove all the troubles and miseries of human beings. The red causes him to hate these things, and he can effectively act only when his wrath has been aroused by its presence.

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 125, 126.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

778 782 [824] such seem to be the case, a piece of lemon may be thrown well away from the shrine. The evil spirit will go after it, forgetting all about what is going on at the shrine. Such spirits are easily outwitted in this manner.

Foods offered include almost all kinds cooked in *ghi*: *puris*, *khichri* and various sweets. *Ghi* itself is frequently put about.

[825] Animals which make acceptable offerings include the chicken, goat, pig and sheep. The latter is very expensive and is not often resorted to. The mature goat or pig is almost never sacrificed—young ones are preferred by the *devis*. Usually a *devi* desires a female of the species offered, and a *deota* a male. The animal to be sacrificed is brought before the shrine, having been first washed and marked with *sendur*. Its throat is cut with an iron knife and the blood is sprinkled directly before the symbols, or at the foot of the tree where the little flags are located. Sometimes the animal is decapitated with a single blow, and only the head is taken on the platform, and blood from it [262 264] dropped over the symbols. The animal is then cleaned, cooked and eaten beside the shrine, and the people partake of a ceremonial meal together. The bones and bits left over are carefully gathered and taken away, either by some low-caste Hindu who may be around, or by some Kol who takes them outside the village boundary and [835] deposits them in a *nala* or place where water is likely to flow. The kid or suckling pig costs from one to three rupees each depending upon the size. Kols never raise pigs and so have to buy them. Goats, [231] however, are often kept and are generally available. The kind and size of animal offered usually depends on the economic condition of the worshipper. It is also said that when a man desires to make an [787 793] offering, he will pray that in a dream the kind of offering he should make may be revealed to him. A *panda's* advice is also sought.

Some deities are said to have particular preferences regarding [776 822] the colour of the animal sacrificed. The Kols are far from consistent, but generally for Kali or Kalika, the colour should be black. Khermai generally prefers white and Marimai red. Most of the *devis* are not very discriminating.

776 778 782 Kols make these offerings in order to protect themselves from the troubles, diseases and miseries of life. Possibly they will lead the deities to be merciful. They are promised that if all goes well they will receive sacrifices and offerings regularly. If offered properly, these sacrifices are thought to bind the deity and practically force her to do as the worshipper desires. The people are thus psychologically confident of a good outcome. If the deities are kept pleased and happy

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even death are often traced to this influence. A woman is more likely 754
to have an evil eye than a man. Kols believe that Gond women
should be avoided as far as possible for many of them are said to have [648]
an evil eye that is likely to affect children. A well-dressed person is
more likely to be affected than a poorly dressed one, and to put on fine [292]
clothes is to attract attention and therefore invite danger.

The evil eye may also be directed against animals and plants; 754
so a bad crop, or the illness or death of an animal, may be due to some 789
one with an evil eye. Pumpkins are often trained to grow upon the 824
roof of Kol houses and may be protected from the evil eye by white-
washing an ordinary flat tile, making a cross in the centre with lamp- [241]
black, and putting upon the tile as many dots as there are pumpkins
growing upon the roof. This will protect them and no pumpkin will
rot. A rotted pumpkin is the sure sign of the activity of this mysterious
force.

The time of eating is a particularly dangerous one from the point 754
of view of the evil eye. No stranger should come into the presence 264
of one who is taking his meal, and at that time he should turn his
back on all people, including even the members of his own household. [609]
If one possessed of the evil eye should see the face of a person taking
his food it may have a serious result. Therefore it is wise never to
interrupt a man at his meals; this a stranger will never do. If
accidentally confronted in this way, the eater should stop his meal and
wait till the person has passed out of sight. To be seen in the act of [291]
putting on new clothes is also to expose oneself to the dangers of the
evil eye, should such a person happen by.

WHAT THESE FORCES DO. We have seen something of the 776
supernormal powers which the average Kol feels are all about him. 754
What do these powers bring to pass? Some indication of this has
been given already, but more may be stated. Diseases, particularly
wasting diseases, are surely due to the presence of evil spirits or the
spell of the evil eye. Any mysterious disease may be ascribed to [777]
these powers. Ill luck is also due to the attention of the forces named
above. A man may be tripped up: it is the work of a spirit; he
cuts his hand: a *bhut* directed the axe. We were told of a certain
evil spirit dwelling in a banyan tree on the Great Deccan Road near 776
Katni. He was particularly annoyed by cyclists: probably he could 754
not get used to the march of civilization. This spirit was especially 493
active at midday and midnight, and if a cyclist should fail to show
respect, by not dismounting and walking by the tree at those parti-
cular hours, he was sure to be killed. It was commonly reported

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has been ploughing ever since. It was really Bhagawan in the form of a Brahmin that deceived the foolish Kol, and Kols have never ridden horseback since that time.

DEPRIVED OF BREAD. In olden days Kols had plenty to eat, but they did not know how to eat their food properly. Instead of breaking their *chapatis* with their hands, they used axes upon them. This displeased Bhagawan, and he sent poverty amongst them, and Kols nowadays get their daily bread only after very hard labour. [264]

There is another tradition linking the horse and bread together. The story goes as before that, when the Kols were first upon the earth, they had plenty to satisfy all their needs. They had horses to ride upon, plenty of wheat and *ghi* and fruits. They lived happily, acquired much wealth, and became the most powerful people in all the regions about. But they could not ride upon horses properly. They conceived the plan of shortening their horses' legs with axes, so that they would not have so much difficulty in mounting and would also not have to fall so far. They also began to chop up their *chapatis* with axes. When Bhagawan came to know of all this, he was very angry and took away the axes and all the horses. He gave the Kols sickles and commanded that thereafter they should never ride a horse and that they should work as labourers in reaping the harvests of others.

THE LOSS OF THE SACRED THREAD. In the beginning, the Kols were the highest of all peoples and wore the sacred thread, which is today the right of the twice-born castes only. But once for some reason, Bhagawan called the people together and put the Kols last, thus angering them greatly for they felt humiliated in the presence of all. In their anger and to show their disregard for the sacred thread, they tore them off and scattered them in all directions. These became attached to trees and bushes and at once began to grow and became *Amarbel* (*Cuscuta reflexa*), a greenish yellow parasitic plant now found in many parts of Central India. Any bit of it will attach itself to a tree or bush and grow easily. "Now," say the Kols, "we would challenge any Brahmin to do the same. Let them throw away their sacred threads. There was life in ours but theirs are dead."

HOW THE KOLS BECAME SEVEN FAMILIES. At first there was but one family of Kols, the descendants of Shivari. This family besought the favour of Bhagawan in prayers which were unselfish and which asked not for wealth or food. Bhagawan therefore blessed 539 773 564